1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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they forced their way through the country occupied by the Winnebago, war would not have occurred.

The Winnebago call themselves *Hotcangara*, which has been variously interpreted as "people of the parent speech" by James Owen Dorsey and as "big fish people" by other observers. Dorsey's explanation, which is the one most generally accepted, is most certainly wrong, and represents an interpretation read into the word to make it fit the legends which claimed that the dialect was the most archaic of all the Siouan languages. It is true that *ho* may mean "speech," but *teunk* can only mean one thing, and that is "big, real." It is found with a number of animal names, such as *ketcunk*, "turtle," and *conktcunk*, "wolf." It corresponds strictly to the Dakotan *tank*, "large." *Ho* means "fish" in Winnebago. The name Winnebago, as is well known, is of Algonquian origin.

The Winnebago were first encountered by white men in 1634, when Jean Nicolet visited them as agent for Governor Champlain. Where he encountered them is not definitely known. The Winnebago as a rule claim that it was at Green Bay. Some discussion has arisen of late years on this question. No contemporary narrative of the event exists, nor have the Winnebago any clearly marked legend that might be interpreted as referring to it.

An excellent description of their history has been given by P. V. Lawson [1] and from this we will quote at some length, selecting those periods that are of greatest importance in the history of the tribe and which can be illustrated by semihistorical legends still known to the Winnebago.

Much of our knowledge of the early history of the Winnebago is derived from Baqueville de la Potherie's Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale. A good deal of his information was obtained from Nicholas Perrot. For the period covering the years 1640–1660 we have the following information: [2]

> A few years ago, they numbered possibly 150 warriors. These savages have no mutual fellow-feeling; they have caused their own ruin, and have been obliged to divide their own forces. They are naturally very impatient of control, and very passionate; a little matter excites them; and they are great braggarts. They are, however, well-built, and are brave soldiers, who do not know what danger is; and they are subtle and crafty in war. Although they are convinced that their ancestors drew upon themselves the enmity of all the surrounding Nations, they cannot be humble. Their women are extremely laborious; they are neat in their houses, but very disgusting about their food.

[1] The Winnebago tribe, in Wisconsin Archæologist, vol. 4, no. 3, Milwaukee, 1897.
[2] Quoted in Lawson's paper, p. 93.

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Names of the principal trees, etc.

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ranzcok'a'wa, resin-weed.
xa"ije, moss.
waxcutc, cedar (red cedar).
teatca"na, ironwood.
witci, flat cornered reed used for lodges.
ca, round reed used for mats.
hi"cge', basswood.
wazi, pine in general.
wazi paras, white cedar.
warge', poplar.
tca" tca'wa, birch.
teagu, walnut.
pa" dja'gu, hickory.
teazu'ke, butternut.
na" ca'nk', maple.
ruyi, willow.
rak, ash.
teange'gu, oak.
mank'a'rak, elm.
huksigu, hazel.
na" p'a'gu, cherry.
na" ho'ge', box-elder.
heyu', cottonwood.

Names of the principal vegetables and fruits

teera'hera, a water root.
wokna"gera, root called "awl" root.
hu"i"kboi'dja, pea vine.
dora, a sort of artichoke.
pa"kxi, root found in lowlands.
na"p'ak, chokecherries.
k'a"tc, plum.
kcē crabapple.
tcwa'"wa", fruit of a tree similar to crab-apple tree.
haza'cutege, raspberry.
haeda'mankere, blackberry.
haedinank', blueberries.
haecdjek', strawberry.
hap'u'nup'unuxge, gooseberry.
hotcanka', cranberry.
k'a"tc hi"cek, peaches (fuzzy plums).
kcē carotc, apple (long and round apple).
wak'a"retcawa, wild currant (snake's navel).
doke'wehi, prairie turnip.
hu"n'nk, bean.
hu"nank' na"di, climbing bean.
hu"n'nk' mink, nonclimbing bean.
ma"hi"tc, milkweed.

Animals and parts of animals whose flesh is not eaten

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wankcoxk, dogfish.
djadja'nka'k, mink.
doco'na"k, otter.
ho wak'a", eel (holy fish).
k'ayi, crow (really northern raven).
tcaxce'p, eagle.
weasel.
marten.
no entrails (u'djwoju).
gopher.
horse.

Agriculture.—In the old days the Winnebago always raised in their permanent villages at least corn, squash, and beans. As the villages consisted practically of a group of families belonging to different clans, each clan apparently living by itself, the question of clan ownership of these fields was hardly considered. (This statement is made because some Winnebago spoke of clan ownership.) What actually occurred was, in the opinion of the author, as follows: Each group of families being segregated according to clan, it happened that certain family groups had fields in common. This must have happened rather frequently, for there seems to have been a tendency—although this can not be said with certainty owing to the meagerness of reliable information—for related families to hold together in these settlements. In general, however, each family owned and cultivated its own field.

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Divisions of Time

192 805 184 The Winnebago reckoned time from the beginning of each new month (*wira*). There are slight differences in the names of the months between the Nebraska and the Wisconsin branch of the tribe, as appear below:

Nebraska

1. Hundjwi'ra, month when the bears are born.
2. Hûndjwiro-a'gɛnina, last bear month.
3. Wâk'ek' iru'x', raccoon-breeding month.
4. Hoi'doginâ'na, fish become visible (because of the ice clearing away).
5. Mai" da'wus, month that dries the earth.
6. Mank'era, dig-the-earth month (when the crops are sowed).
7. Wixo'tcera, the month that makes them gray (the month when the tassels of corn appear and the fields look gray).
8. Wida'djox, when the roasted ears of corn burst.
9. Wiza'zek'e, name of a bird that appears this month.
10. Pca'mai"na'xora, when the deer paws the earth; or Hu"wai"jukɛra, when the elks shout, or whistle.
11. Tcaik'i'ruxe, deer-breeding month.
12. Tca'hewakcu', when the deer shed their horns.

Wisconsin—

1. Hu'ndjwi tconina, first bear month.
2. Hu'ndjwiro-a'gɛnina, last bear month.
3. Wâk'e'k'iruxewi'ra, raccoon-breeding month.
4. Hoi'doginâna, fish becoming visible.
5. Mai"da'wus, drying-of-the-earth month.
6. Mank'e'ra, digging month.
7. Mai"ɲa!'u"ɲa, cultivating month.
8. Wixo'tcerera, tasseling month.
9. Hu" waiju'kɛra, elk-whistling month.
10. Tco'mai"na'xora, when the deer paw the earth.
11. Tcaik'iru'xira, deer-breeding month.
12. Tcahe'yakcu'na, when the deer shed their horns.

805 221 According to a member of the Bear clan, the following were the activities throughout the year. The accounts given of these activities differed in certain details, depending upon the clan connection of the informant, because he naturally associated some months with specific activities of his clan, such as clan feasts.

1. Members of the Bear clan give their feast.
2. Month in which the various Winter Feasts are given.
3. Month in which people hunt.
4. Month in which people begin to fish.

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T71 [114] the Iroquois and Fox.[1] In the article mentioned above we have given our reasons for believing that these ethnologists were mistaken in their interpretation.

T76 ●192 In the Winnebago language the four words most commonly used in speaking of the spirits are *wak'a*ⁿ, *wak'a'ndja*, *zop*, and *wazop'i'ni*. *Wak'a*ⁿ seems exactly equivalent to our word "sacred," while *wak'a'ndja*, which is identical with the Omaha word *wakonda*, means thunderbird. In all likelihood it originally meant "he who is sacred" or something like that. It has nothing to do with the word "thunder," which is *k'oire* in Winnebago. The word *wak'a*ⁿ also means snake, for the snake is a holy animal among the Winnebago, the messenger of the spirits. The word *zop*, identical with the Omaha *zube*, is more difficult to define. It means sacred and awe-inspiring and seems to be associated, in the eyes of the Winnebago, with the intensely emotional aspects of religion, where self is completely forgotten. Those ceremonies, in which the performers work [786] themselves into a frenzy of excitement and dance naked, are always referred to as *zop*. The word *wazop'i'ni* is clearly a noun compounded of the indefinite prefix *wa-* and the suffix *-ni*, which possibly is an old agentive nominalizer, or, more probably, an old stem meaning "man." It occurs also in the word *manka'ni*, medicine-man. In other words it means "he who" or "that which is holy." *Wazop'i'ni* is the only Winnebago word for spirit. Both the words *wak'andja* and *wazop'i'ni* are very definite terms referring to individualized spirits.

T76 T71 192 As to the use of the adjectives *wak'a*ⁿ and *zop*, there seems to be little mystery about them. They are used much as our words "holy" and "sacred." Anything in any way connected with the spirits is either *wak'a*ⁿ or *zop*. If a Winnebago were to come across some unusually shaped object he might offer tobacco to it, and upon being questioned he would undoubtedly say that the object is *wak'a*ⁿ. What is it that he means by *wak'a*ⁿ? From my experience in the field he simply means that it is "sacred," and if pressed for a more definite answer he would probably say that it has the power of

[1] According to Mr. Hewitt, orenda is a "magic power which was assumed . . . to be inherent in every body . . . and in every personified attribute, property, or activity . . . This hypothetic principle was conceived to be immaterial, occult, impersonal, mysterious in mode of action . . . The possession of orenda . . . is the distinctive characteristic of all the gods, and these gods in earlier time were all the bodies and beings of nature in any manner affecting the weal or woe of man." (Article "Orenda" in the Handbook of American Indians, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30, pt. 2.) According to W. James, the mawin "is an unsystematic belief in a cosmic, sky-borne property, which is believed to be existing everywhere in nature . . . The conception of this something wavers between that of a communicable property, that of a mobile, invisible substance, and that of a latent transferable energy: . . . this substance, property, or energy is conceived as being widely diffused amongst natural objects and human beings . . . the presence of it is promptly assigned as the explanation of any unusual power or efficacy which any object or person is found to possess; . . . It is a distinct and rather abstract conception of a diffused, all-pervasive, invisible, manipulable, and transferable life-energy, or universal force . . . (Finally) all success, strength, or prosperity is conceived to depend upon the possession of (this force)."—"The Algonkin Manitou" (Journal of American Folklore, vol. 18, no. LXX, pp. 183–190, 1905).

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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bestowing blessings upon him — in other words, of acting like a spirit, a *waxop'i'ni*. That is why he offers tobacco to it. We would be inclined to say that the individual finding such an object has created a new spirit. Such a new spirit may be forever confined to the particular family to which the individual belongs. It might die with him, or, on the other hand, it might acquire great importance and popularity and become a tribal spirit. What seems to have happened, in the vast majority of cases, however, among the Winnebago, is that owing to the marked development of the spirit-deities and cosmogonic myths, such "sacred" objects were interpreted as being either some manifestation of a spirit, some transformation which he had assumed, or as inhabited by a spirit.

The reason why, in our opinion, so many ethnologists have apparently misinterpreted the nature of *wak'a*[a] is due to the fact that when something that, from the European viewpoint, is immaterial and inanimate, like vapor, light, movement, etc., is called *wak'a*[a], then it seems difficult for them to imagine that it can be so except by virtue of some intimate connection with a definite spirit, and if that can not be demonstrated, then the only solution left is to fall back upon the "magic power" idea. By doing this they clearly show that for them the test of individualization is corporeality of a fairly definite kind, dependent mainly upon visual sensations. This brings us to a fundamental problem, not only for Winnebago religion, but for North American religion in general.

The Concept and Nature of the Spirits

Those Indians who have never spent any time thinking upon the nature of spirits can not truly be said to have any concept of their nature, whether vague or definite. They simply repeat what they have heard from the more religiously inclined. An answer prompted by a moment's consideration, as is often the case when an ethnologist interrogates them, does not necessarily reflect the current view of the subject, nor, for that matter, even the same Indian's belief after he has given the matter some thought. Many Winnebago, with whom the author was fairly well acquainted, refused to answer certain questions offhand and asked for time to reflect about them. It seems justified, when we are studying a subject like religion, to ask for information from those who have, in all probability, formulated the beliefs — the shamans. It is from them that we must strive to learn whether the spirits are conceived of as anthropomorphic, theromorphic, dream-phantasms, or indefinite entities in general.

In trying to discover this the author found, not only that he was asking a leading question, but that he was asking an unnecessary question. It was soon quite clear that the Winnebago did not

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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776 is but a faint survival of former times. The older myths are full of references to the evil spirits, and the cosmological myths represent
[773] the world as infested with evil spirits who are on the point of exterminating the human race until the culture heroes come to the rescue. It would almost seem as if, from a purely matter-of-fact point of view, these early culture heroes had destroyed all the evil spirits. Certainly they are not regarded as of great consequence, for if they were we ought to find a certain number of prayers addressed to them asking them not to harm anyone. They seem to be mere logics, personifications of fear, and that is perhaps why they are so intimately connected with darkness.

812 At the present time the vast majority of Winnebago ascribe evil,
[668 in so far as they explain it at all, to three causes: either to some
782] failure on their part to perform a rite in the prescribed way, to the fact that they have not invoked the spirits for protection (i. e., attempted to pass through life without the aid of the spirits), or to the evil machinations of other men. Often one derives the impression that they accept evil and do not try to explain it. It seems to be a trait characteristic of the Winnebago, and perhaps characteristic of other North American tribes, that explanations are developed for the positive aspects of things. Certainly it would require some thought on the part of a Winnebago to explain why a war party that had, in the opinion of the chief, all the necessary requirements for victory, should nevertheless be defeated. He would doubtless find some reason, after a while, but it would be an afterthought and would probably vary from individual to individual. In some cases lack of success would be ascribed to the fact that an individual had been misled by an evil spirit, but this is clearly a secondary explanation because the individual, when questioned, would admit that he had no way of telling whether this was so until he had failed in something. We base this statement on an actual instance.

776 There is some evidence to show that there may have originally existed among the Winnebago a belief that the spirits were neither good nor bad; that they could be either at different times. In two notable instances, that of Disease-giver and Water-spirit, this is true at the present time. The former deity is the only one to whom prayers are addressed beseeching him not to present to man his death-dealing side.

In the myths we find a definite incarnation of evil in the case of
[192] a spirit called *Herregu'nina*. The meaning of this word as given by a Winnebago, and which seems to be justified, is "he whose existence is doubtful." If this is an old Winnebago word it would confirm the view advanced above, that the Winnebago were not very much concerned about the evil spirits. There is, however, a possibility
[77] that *Herregu'nina* is, in part, a post-Columbian development due

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
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Clans are likewise referred to by names indicative of respect. Thus, the Water-spirit is referred to as *hunge*, male members of the Bear clan as *haga*, and female members of the same clan as *warowiṇa*. It was claimed that these names were employed to avoid using the others. *Degoni* (meaning unknown, perhaps "lake-people") was also applied to the Bear; and *iconanke* (meaning unknown) to the Wolf.

Referring to the two village diagrams, we notice that according to Figure 1, four clans have their lodges definitely located—the Thunderbird, Warrior, Buffalo, and Bear; but that according to Figure 2 only two clans have definite location of lodges—the Thunderbird, and Bear. In addition there is, however, a special lodge for the men who have especially distinguished themselves in war, not necessarily to be identified with the members of the Warrior clan. The significance of the clan names has been discussed before.

The meaning of *iconanke* is unknown to-day, but it may be of interest as an example of the manner in which the name of a clan may possibly be reinterpreted that, when pressed for a meaning, *iconanke* was translated blue-back, which is a literal translation of *ico* and *nanke*, but which unquestionably represents a folk etymology, for, according to Winnebago grammar, *blue-back* would have to be *nanke ico*.

Legendary Grouping of Clans.

According to many clan legends, the clans originated in a definite order. As might be expected, this differs according to each clan, but the order of origin of the important ones seems to be constant. That is, practically all clan origin myths speak of the bird-clans as having originated first, and the Bear clan as having followed next. Yet even this did not hold true for all informants.

J., of the Bear clan, gave the following list:

Good Thunders (Thunderbird)
Bad Thunders (Warrior)
Eagle
Pigeon
Bear

4:Smith N-5 (1928) 1929 NP12 Winnebago NP12

[p.76]

AMONG THE WINNEBAGO

By Huron H. Smith*

During the summer of 1928, the writer made a study of the Winnebago Indians, in line with his former ethnobotanical studies of other Indians of Wisconsin. After having worked with four tribes who were all of Algonkian stock, it was interesting to encounter these people who are related to the Sioux. The four tribes previously studied were the Menomini, Meskwaki, Ojibwe, and Potawatomi. The first two are the subjects of Nos. 1 and 2 of Volume IV of the bulletin of this museum, while the publications on the latter two are in preparation.

While all of the Algonkian languages are different from one another, they are at least similar enough to enable the student to grasp the likeness in a short time. In fact, Potawatomi is quite similar to Ojibwe, a sort of an abbreviated Ojibwe, as it were. Some of the medicinal words evidently point to a common origin, for exactly the same name is sometimes used for a plant by all four tribes. A careful study of Indian plant names reveals those unnamed plants that came into their region within historic times, as non-native or adventive species. The use of plants is a vital topic among Indians, and their plant lore is handed down from generation to generation. Most of our Wisconsin adventive plants have come into the State in the last hundred years, and a goodly proportion of these in the last forty years. Indians are not apt to take the white man's word for the medicinal use of the adventive plant, so that their lack of an Indian name for the plant in question, is sure evidence that it is a new comer. When we consider how long it must have taken these people to acquire their medicinal knowledge, doubtless by the old process of "trial and error," we wonder how many more centuries must elapse before they learn the uses of adventive species.

The Winnebago are particularly zealous in giving everything Winnebago names, if possible, and should there be some conspicuous attribute to an adventive plant, it will probably have a name in their language. Questioning will bring out the reason for the name and also whether or not they know a use for the plant. They have regular words for tea

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4:Smith N-5 (1928) 1929 NP12 Winnebago NP12

and coffee, which were, of course, unknown to them before the coming of the White Man. Other tribes in Wisconsin have made no attempt to set up their own words for these, but call them by their English names as nearly as they can pronounce them. This trait of the Winnebago is often amusing. For example the watermelon was unknown to them until about seventy-five years ago. The first recipient of a watermelon among them considered it a pumpkin, cut it up into small pieces, and boiled it in a pot. The resultant product was scarcely edible, so led to the appellation of "wicawasukela"—"a pumpkin that did'nt get ripe." But later, they discovered that the whites ate them just as they were; and upon trying this they discovered their merit, and have been very fond of them ever since. But the first name stuck, and it is thus called to this day.

While we had met Winnebago before this summer, we had never attempted to discourse at length on their uses of plants. In 1923, we first met Frank Smith, "makiwika," with his wife who was making baskets, in Minocqua where we admired her art. Every year since we have seen Frank at some Indian pow-wow or other. During the "Pageant of Progress," in Milwaukee, July, 1926, Frank and his new Ojibwe wife were at the Indian Village on the lake front, with Mr. H. L. Mumm, of Wausau, demonstrating Indian arts and crafts. There, too, we met two other Winnebago workers, Jim Henniger and his wife, although the Indians in the village proper were all full-blooded Ojibwe from Lac Court Oreilles, Wisconsin. The museum is also fortunate in having the friendship of Ulysses A. White, of Wisconsin Rapids, who was formerly employed in Milwaukee. Mr. White is a pure blooded Winnebago, as is his wife, a quite uncommon occurrence in these times of inter-tribal marriages. He introduced to the Museum, John Bear, of Wisconsin Rapids, another old Winnebago Indian, through whom Mr. W. C. McKern, Associate Curator of Anthropology, of the Museum, has been able to collect some interesting ancient Winnebago stories. Mr. Bear spent the entire winter of 1927-1928 at the Museum, and was helped in his work by Mr. White. All of this preliminary work was the subject of several conferences between the writer and Mr. McKern at which we became acquainted with the linguistics of the Winnebago and listed the plant names used in the various stories.

The first trip of the summer was to Trempealeau, where the Museum was conducting archeological investigations which the writer, as President of the Wisconsin Archeological Society, wished to see. Furthermore Mr. McKern had written that there were Winnebago Indians in Trempealeau. These proved to be a family living in the old brewery at the edge of the village, but they were from Winnebago, Nebraska, and were not familiar with the Wisconsin plants. The field party, however, interested us for a week. The Museum camp was established in Perrot State Park, on the banks of the Trempealeau River near its

4:Smith N-5 (1928) 1929 NP 12 Winnebago NP 12

$35 per thousand for number three size. The "buttons" are really branches of the Peyote Cactus (*Lophophora williamsii*), a small compact cactus growing from southern Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico down into old Mexico. The peyote religion was introduced to the Indians of the United States by peyote cults, among the Indians of Mexico. The Government strictly forbids possession of or traffic in these buttons, but the number of converts to the cult is on the increase.

On the other hand, the peyote Indians among the Winnebago have little regard for the medicine lodge Indians. They consider them benighted, old-fashioned and unwise. When an Indian joins peyote, according to them, he sees the error of his ways and the sacred, ceremonial objects of his past become of no value to him. In such cases, the field collector of some museum finds it easy to acquire excellent specimens of sacred objects. While still in use, an Indian would not part with his medicine bundle for money, but once it has been superseded by a change in faith, he becomes glad to realize almost anything for it. Such a bundle is valued by anthropologists according to the sacred objects it contains.

The peyote people that we met near Wisconsin Rapids did not bear out the poor name given them by the old pagans. They were industrious and proud of their religion. The peyote cult, there, shows considerable Christian missionary influence, in their acceptance of Jesus Christ as their deity. The medicine lodge people have never been interested in the translation of the Lord's Prayer but the Winnebago peyote followers use it as a chanted peyote song. It is called *Hilukanala gikaraj hanila*, (Lord prayer his). It follows thus:

Hianjinwila wagregi shanagre, lash hashinila wakajak nigigidek•jena.

"Our Father in heaven who dwells your name holy (let us) keep it. *Hunkma hashini'a hilaijik•jawina. Woshga hashinila manegi* Kingdom your come down (on earth). Doing yours on earth *uinek•jena wagregi jaske hinaki sheske manegi hilek•jena. Hampdec* should in heaven like doing same on earth should be. This day *waiskapduc haniwila hunkuwianjc. Egi wazawoishana waniwila* bread daily ours give us. And then sins ours *waigitunawila wazahigishana waniwila waigitunawila sheke. Egi inke* forgive us sins yours and yours forgive us same. And then don't *wazawoishana wahicja hinutiwinine Ezi wowak•jega egi hingijilawige* (into) temptations deliver us. Our Lord and help us *kishipwiwine. Hunkmara nchashinigaja Egi homashjala nchashinigaja* get away Kingdom thy and power thy *Egi hoishagra nchashinigaja manegus•la jeskek•jena.* and glory thy forever Amen."

It will be noted that the Winnebago even have a word for "Amen," meaning to some extent "let it be that way," whereas among the Menomini Indians they have not translated it but articulate it as we do — Amen.

8:Lurie E-5 (1945-1950)1953 NP12 Winnebago NP12

The Winnebago term for berdache is very uncertain. The last known case in Wisconsin was called dejáŋčowiŋga, usually translated as Blue Lake Woman (dejáŋčowiŋga—dejáŋ: lake or sea; čo: blue; wiŋ: female name ending; ga: name referrent suffix). In Nebraska mention was made of another berdache who had lived in Wisconsin and was called čoranaǯiŋga or Standing Blue (čoŗanaǯiŋga—čo: blue; ŗa: article; naǯi: to stand; wiŋ: elided with naǯi as naziŋ, female name ending; ga: name referrent suffix). The term ǯiáŋge was suggested as a general word for berdache by two Wisconsin informants, and it was translated by several people as "a no good," "a eunuch," "an unmanly man." This word was still in common use in Wisconsin in 1947, but was used among young men as an insult or teasing epithet. These young men claimed to know nothing more about the word except that it carried connotations of weakness and effeminateness.

The characteristics of the Winnebago berdache agree closely with those reported for the Omaha and Ponca but the word used to designate a berdache in both of these latter tribes was miˣ-qu-ga, according to Dorsey (378–379). Among the Oglala the berdache had been blessed by a pote wiˣkte or hermaphroditic buffalo, wiˣkte being the word for berdache. A certain amount of shame had become attached to the role among these Plains Siouan groups by the time it was reported by Dorsey in 1889 and Wissler in 1912, but Wissler (p. 92) said of the Oglala, "In the old days all the berdaches were very wakan."

Knowledge of the berdache among the Winnebago was provided in 1946 through a chance conversation with M.M., a woman who was then about thirty years old. Her parents had been the first Christian converts at the Winnebago community near Black River Falls, Wisconsin, and M.M. had once heard her mother mention "Men who dressed as women." When M.M. attempted to question her mother, at the writer's request, for more information about the berdache, the mother, then a woman in her seventies, became very angry and said in Winnebago, "Why did you ask about that? That is something we want to forget and not talk about."

Another woman, S.S., a younger sister of Radin's famous informant Crashing Thunder, was next approached and she offered the following account.

> Yes, I used to hear about that, but I don't know much about it. Once there was a man who fasted and he learned that if he dressed like a woman he would be the richest person in the world, but if he wore men's clothes, he die soon. She wore earrings, and bracelets, and necklaces and a shirt like a woman, but his brothers told him . . . her? . . . if he . . . she? . . . put on a skirt they would kill him. There used to be people like that, not just that one. I think ǯiáŋge is the word for them but I don't know, now it's just a slang word and means a no good. Those people did women's work, and they did it real good, better than even women could.

Later M.M., the original informant, was able to prevail upon her mother to provide more information. Her description included all of the points given above except mention of wealth accruing to the berdache. However, M.M.'s mother added that berdaches had been blessed by the moon and had the gift